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The Comintern's Intrigues In Manchoukuo

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The Comintern's Intrigues In Manchoukuo

CHAPTER I.

THE COMINTERN'S POLICY IN EAST ASIA

Whereas the First International simply foresaw and predicted the future development of Communism and the Second International merely fulfilled its mission of creating the new social class of several million proletarians, the Third International, as its leaders avowedly claim, is a medium for organizing and directing "mass" movements, for effecting a world revolution, in short, an International of action.

The Bolshevist regime, which was born in Russia following the Red Revolution of November, 1917, feared that its position might be jeopardized unless a revolution was staged quickly in West European countries as well. In the belief that the economic destitution of the various European Powers and the political unrest in these Powers, caused by the World War, provided a golden opportunity to drag them into the maelstrom of a revolution, the Bolshevist regime directed its efforts to Sovietizing West Europe, while proclaiming an extremist Communist reign over Russia. The Third International, known also as the Communist International or simply the Comintern, was created in March, 1919, for achieving the ultimate objective of a world revolution, and the first task assigned to it was to create disturbances in the West European countries. From the headquarters of the Comintern, large numbers

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of propagandists and 'agents provocateurs' were sent into the various European countries to start desperate revolutionary agitation.

At the same time, Trotsky at the head of a Red army, marched into Poland in an attempt to Sovietize Europe by recourse to armed force. As a result, it appeared that the Comintern's plot succeeded to some extent. In March, 1919, a Communist government led by Bela Kun was organized in Hungary, to which Lenin sent a telegram of congratulation, hailing its birth as a harbinger of an imminent world revolution. In Germany, too, the extreme Leftist faction led by Liebknecht was markedly active about that time and even after its leader had been killed a Soviet regime was set up in Bavaria in April of the same year.

But vigorous reactionary movements were started, resulting in the successive collapse of these two Red governments. Moreover, the various European countries began to guard more rigidly against the menace of Communism. As the political, economic and social unrest in Europe was gradually lessened about 1920, it became manifest that Europe could not be pulled down so easily as the Russian Bolshevist Government expected. On the other hand, the Wartime Communism enforced in Russia herself ended in failure. On top of this, civil disorders and famines occurred in succession, precipitating a situation in which the very foundations of the Bolshevist Government would be endangered if its economic policy was left unchanged. Thereupon, the Soviet Union launched upon a New Economic Policy that might warrant a partial reversion to Capitalism and the import of European capital and production technique for her internal economic rehabilitation. The natural sequel to this change of policy was a temporary relaxation of her Bolshevist activity in Europe.

In an effort to offset the failure of her campaign in

Europe by shifting her activity to the East, the Soviet Union then decided to concentrate her propaganda upon the Orient. Accordingly, she adopted a fresh policy under which she planned first to Sovietize the Orient, upset the various Oriental colonies and semi-colonial lands serving as feeders to European Capitalism, and to deal an indirect blow to Europe. This is the keynote of what is now known as the Comintern's Eastern expansion policy.

Lenin is quoted as having once remarked: "The fate of a world revolution will be determined in the Orient and an attack upon Asia may provide an opportunity to conquer Europe in the long run." At the Second World Congress of the Comintern held in 1920, Lenin made an emphatic statement to the effect that "European Capitalism squeezes colonies and obstructs the economic development of the Oriental nations for protecting industries in the European countries." He pointed to China and India as two typical victims of European Capitalism.

Addressing the Communist conference held at Baku in September, 1920, Zinoviev, delegate of the Comintern, went the length of asserting: "The Soviet Union is stretching out her arms to Asia, not because Asia may adopt the ideals of the Soviet Union or because of the identity of the ideals of both, but simply because the 800 million Asiatics are essentially needed for the overthrow of European Imperialism and Capitalism." He added: "You must declare a holy war upon the burglarious capitalists of Britain and France."

From what Lenin and Zinoviev stated, it is apparent that the Comintern aims at carrying out a world revolution, not merely a revolution embracing the West or the East. It is on this account that all struggles against the Comintern should of necessity be undertaken through close co-operation between the East and

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West. As may also be inferred from what has already been pointed out, the Comintern is always acting precisely along the lines of the Soviet Government's policy. In short, the Comintern is a mere instrument in the prosecution of the Soviet Union's "Red Imperialism." Consequently, the Comintern's eastern expansion policy has consistently been backed up by proper diplomatic operations conducted in parallel with the said policy. A typical instance evidencing this fact is the Karakhan declaration of 1919, in which the Soviet Union announced her intention of abrogating all the unequal treaties between her and China and renouncing the rights and interests acquired in China by Czarist Russia.

By this the Soviet attempted to enlist the sympathy of the Chinese Government and people and thereby to Bolshevize that country. Meanwhile, acute feelings of popular unrest had prevailed in China since the revolutionary uprising of 1911, with the social order disrupted and the economic system thrown into confusion. Under the circumstances, the Chinese masses enthusiastically welcomed the Karakhan declaration, although the Peking Government was skeptical about the motives of the Soviet gesture.

The Comintern lost no time in seizing this opportunity and despatched to China the director of its Far Eastern Section, Voitinsky, who was ordered to make a positive move towards Bolshevization of China. In September, 1920, he succeeded in establishing the Chinese Communist Party.

It was through the instrumentality of the Chinese Communist Party that the Comintern later fell in with the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang). The Nationalist Party thereupon invited Borogin, a foremost Russian Communist, as adviser, together with General Garon (Marshal V. Blucher) as military adviser. In this way, the Comintern steadily pushed its

plot to implant Communism ever deeper into China.

The establishment of the Chinese Communist Party and the despatch of the Comintern's direct agents to China were events of epochal significance in the history of the movement to Sovietize China. Especially from 1924 to 1927, during which period the Chinese Communist and Nationalist Parties operated in unison, the Communist elements were most active in China. Even after the two parties ceased to co-operate, the Bolshevist movement was so successful that there existed in China at one time a Red army of half a million men and some 400 Soviet hsien-governments.

Soviet Russia who, as has already been explained, failed in her attempt to revolutionize the whole world immediately after the now famous October Revolution, relaxed the intensity of her Bolshevist campaign in Europe and turned the spearhead of her operations to the Orient where success was considered relatively easy. At the same time, in order to develop her domestic industries and perfect her national defence, she adopted a New Economic Policy, under which a colossal Five-Year Plan designed to establish the country as a model Socialist State was launched. While this vast construction plan was being barely kept alive with tremendous difficulty, dark clouds ominous to the Soviet Union began to gather on the horizon, with the advent of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany, the establishment of Manchoukuo and the commencement in China of an anti-Communist movement by Chiang Kai-shek. All these phenomena heralded an open international combat against Communism, threatening the citadels of the Soviet Union and the Comintern.

To consider what measures should be taken to cope with these alarming developments and also to defend its own country where the completion of the gigantic construction project was still far off, the Soviet Gov-

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ernment convoked the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in July, 1935. From this gathering derived a new policy for the organization of the so-called "front populaire" or "popular front". The principal points of this policy were:

1. The Comintern, discontinuing its past ideological conflict with various Reformist organizations, should make a fresh attempt to organize a front populaire against Fascism. More precisely, the Comintern should co-operate with the Second International in mustering all anti-Fascist forces for the presentation of a united front, while, on the other hand, the Communist parties of the various countries were to be requested to launch a concerted drive with all bodies commonly interested in suppressing Fascism, by employing proper steps suited to actual conditions in their respective lands.

2. In organizing this united front, the Comintern should not only assimilate and merge the anti-Fascist bodies, but also participate positively in the inner functioning of Fascist organizations to pull them down from within. ("We ought to learn the same tactics which once forced the Trojans to surrender." Dimitrov)

3. Bolshevist operations should be directed chiefly against Japan, Germany, Italy and Poland. And China is to be used as an instrument in attacknig Japan.

It is a great mistake to think as do some persons that the Comintern by adopting this new policy reached a compromise with the Second International or lost its positiveness of action. It must be admitted on the contrary, that the underground activity of the Comintern, with its scope further enlarged, became even much more positive and dangerous than before.

To the Comintern's decision to organize a united anti-Fascist front, Japan, Germany, Italy, Manchou-

kuo, Hungary and Spain responded with an international Anti-Communist Pact. During the period from 1935 to 1939, the struggle between the Soviet Union and the group of Fascist States was at the zenith of intensity. While assisting China in order to curb the strength of Japan, the Soviet Union appeared inclined to throw in her lot with Britain and France in an attempt to keep Germany in check.

A drastic change, however, occurred in the situation towards the end of August, 1939, when Germany and the Soviet Union suddenly concluded a non-aggression pact. In September, the troops of these two countries occupied Poland while Britain and France declared war upon Germany. Thus started a fresh struggle between Britain and France on the one hand and Germany and the Soviet Union on the other. At the same time, the Comintern modified its anti-Fascist attitude and adopted a new policy of opposition to the "Imperialistic war" of which Britain and France, the Soviets claim, are the provocators.

Why, then, has the Soviet Union changed her attitude in this way? The first reason is that she did not, to cite Stalin's words, "desire to pick a nut from the fire". Speaking more plainly, she, aware of the true intentions of Britain and France, was averse to waging war with Germany for the sake of these two Powers.

In the second place, it is to be noted that Germany resorted to armed force after she had won over Russia to her side. If, by hypothesis, the Soviet Union had taken sides with Britain and France, Germany would certainly not have thrown down the gauntlet and therefore, the present war would have been staved off. The deduction, then, is that Soviet Russia gave a helping hand to Germany, plotting to Sovietize Europe by creating a war on that continent and plunging the Powers there into confusion. This is a typical case in

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which the inexplicably sinister machinations of the Commintern and the real nature of "Red Imperialism" are fully exposed.

In the above, the course of action which the Comintern has pursued since its establishment has been outlined. In the several chapters to follow, a general survey will be made of how the Comintern has acted upon Manchuria. Chapter II is devoted to the Comintern's activity from the commencement of the Communist movement in this country until the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident and Chapter III to its obstinate campaign from that incident up to the present. Chapter IV deals with the so-called "front populaire", and in Chapter V, how Manchoukuo is combating the menace of the Comintern is explained.

The "holy war" which Manchoukuo is waging with the Comintern is not one of such a nature as may shield only her own territory against Communist invasion. The fact is that she is playing voluntarily an important role in the international anti-Bolshevist crusade, hoping that Communism will be completely ousted from this world. By so doing, Manchoukuo also is combating the Soviet Union's "Red Imperialism" underlying the activity of the Comintern.

Actually, the Comintern is carrying on unified and elusive operations all over the world. It may be recalled that Lenin once declared: "The Bolshevist campaign in the Orient is a preliminary step to a Communist victory in the Occident". If, therefore, the various European and American countries remain unguarded against Communism, thinking that the Comintern's activity in the Orient is none of their business, they may some day bear the brunt of its destructive operations. It is necessary, then, for all world Powers to open a concerted and systematic battle against the Comintern; and it is with this in view that the present

Anti-Communist Pact was signed. From this perspective, Manchoukuo may be said to be a spirited fighter against Communism.

Next, it is absolutely impossible to view the activity of the Comintern without reference to the Soviet Union's "Red Imperialism". Whereas she is opposed to Communism, Britain made a futile attempt to join forces with Soviet Russia with a view to holding Germany in check. To Germany as well, Communism has been a mortal foe, but she entered into a rapprochement with Russia in a desperate effort to grapple advantageously with Britain and France. This is like pouring oil, not water, over the fire or hurling high explosives over it instead of trying to extinguish the flames.

It is pertinent here to recall that when France, fearful of Germany, fell in line with Soviet Russia, her political circle came instantly under the domination of Leftist factions. In the East, Chiang Kai-shek is now being embarrassed by the arbitrary and high-handed Chinese Communist Party.

The fact must be borne in mind that the Soviet Union and the Comintern always go together as the shadow follows the form, and that "Red Imperialism" and the Comintern are comparable to a puppet and its puller. One should know that any Power trying to fight others by utilizing the Red Imperialism is like a man who by mistake takes the very poison which he plots to administer to another to assassinate him.

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CHAPTER II.
THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BEFORE THE MANCHURIAN INCIDENT

Originally, the Communist movement in Manchuria after the Communist Revolution in Russia was initiated by the Korean radicals influenced by the sovietization of the Russian Far East. Later, the movement came to be directed by the Korean Communist Party which had extended its sphere of activity to Manchuria. In the meantime, the Chinese Communist Party steadily expanded its sphere of influence in Manchuria and finally took the place of the Koreans in directing the movement.

About that time, the Soviet Communist Party built up a powerful stronghold in the North Manchurian districts along the old Chinese Eastern Railway installed by Czarist Russia. In reviewing the course the movement actually followed, it is noted that groups of Korean, Chinese, Soviet and Japanese Communists were affiliated to a greater or less extent with the movement.

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A. Communist Movement by Koreans in Manchuria and Soviet Russia

The Communist movement in Manchuria by the Korean radicals dates back to about 1918. Hard living brought about by oppression from the Chinese officials was one of the principal factors responsible for the Bolshevization of Korean residents in Manchuria. At

that time, the various Korean radical bodies and armed revolutionary bands plotting for the restoration of their peninsula's independence, which were active in the Chientao and other outlying border districts, assumed Communist character under the influence of the Russian Bolshevists in Siberia. With the support of the Russian Bolshevist Government, these groups of Korean malcotents banded themselves together and started a concerted movement for the restoration of Korean indepedence.

Taking the lead in the movement was the Korean Socialist Party headed by Li Tung-hui, which was organized at Khabarovsk in June, 1918, under the guidance of a Krekpnov, a member of the Far Eastern propaganda section of the Russian Bolshevist Party. After the creation of this Korean party, its leader, Li Tung-hui, had its headquarters established in Khabarovsk. The party then launched a vigorous propaganda campaign.

The advance of Japanese Army expeditionary forces into the interior of Siberia, however, detracted much from the influence of the Russian Bolshevists there. As a result, the Korean Communists in Siberia fled mostly into Manchuria and stayed at different points, pretending to be common citizens. Their movement, of course, was brought to a temporary standstill.

On March 1, 1919, Korean independentists started rebellious uprisings and taking advantage of this disturbance, the Korean Socialist Party resumed its activities. In April of that year, a congress of the party took place in the New Korean Colony at Vladivostok, following which three delegates were despatched to Moscow. Upon the arrival of the delegation, the Third International officially recognized the party as a Communist organization and provided the delegates with a large amount of money for financing their party's future operations. Simultaneously, the party was renamed the

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Kaoli Communist Party, with its headquarters removed to Shanghai.

On the other hand, another Korean Communist faction in Irkutsk, of which Chin Che-hsun and Wen Chang-fan were leaders, reorganized itself as the All-Russia Korean Communist Party in September of the same year, with the cooperation of a Smiyatsky, a Siberian propaganda agent of the Third International. The purpose of its reorganization was to unite all Korean Communist groups in Siberian territory. Whereas the Kaoli Communist Party had in view the restoration of Korean independence as its primary objective, with the conduct of Communist activity a secondary one, the All-Russia Korean Communist Party aimed first at carrying out Communism, the recovery of Korean independence being its auxiliary object. Thus differed the guiding principles of both.

Moreover, the All-Russia Korean Communist Party usurped the money given to the delegation of its rival organization by the Third International, when it was carried to Irkutsk from Moscow. This tremendously intensified the friction between the two. As the result of the negotiations which the Third International conducted subsequently with the Kaoli Communist Party, a decision was reached to entrust to the All Russia Communist Party the task of propagating Communism among the Koreans residing in Russia including Siberia, while ceding all other Far Eastern regions to the Kaoli Communist Party as forming its territory of operation. At the same time, the Third International recognized the bogus Provisional Korean Independent Government in Shanghai as an organ of the Kaoli Communist Party.

In September, 1921, the All-Russia Korean Communist Party hurriedly sent one of its leaders, Chin, to Moscow who presented to the Third Inter-

national strong allegation that the Kaoli Communist Party, was struggling solely for the restoration of Korean independence under cover of Communism. Giving credence to this allegation, the Third International finally ordered the All-Russia Korean Communist Party to merge the Koma Communist Party for the formation of a united Korean Communist front.

Upon Chin's return from Moscow in November of the same year, the All-Russia Korean Communist Party was renamed the All-Russia Koma Communist Party. But the Korean Bolshevists in Shanghai refused to belong to that party. Instead, they in opposition to the party established the North Manchurian branch of their Kaoli Communist Party at Ningkuta in December of that year, and the branch organized an armed band of about a hundred strong and directed its activity chiefly to the Chientao district along the Manchuria-Korean border. On the other hand, Li Tung-hui, availing himself of his affiliation with the Korean section of the Far Eastern District Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party, which was appointed at Vladivostok in 1932, harbored a large-scale plan to bolshevize the Korean penisula and the Chientao-Hunchun region of Manchuria. Along the lines of the plan, an intense propaganda campaign was started.

Li then rallied local armed bands of brigands which were placed under the command of the Great Korean Volunteers' Military Committee. Quickly, South Manchuria came within the scope of activity of the branch. All these areas thus went "Red". During the 1924-26 period, such Communist young men's organizations as the South Manchuria Young Men's League, the North Manchuria Young Men's League and the East Manchuria Young Men's League were created under the guidance of the Korean section of the Far Eastern District

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Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party.

B. The Advance of the Korean Communist Party into Manchuria

In April, 1925, the Korean Communist Party and the Kaoli Communist Young Men's Association were simultaneously organized at Seoul. The former upon its formation was accorded formal recognition by the Third International. In November of that year, and in January of the following year, police roundups of its members were carried out, but its remnants who barely escaped being arrested plotted, in secret collusion with their colleagues at Vladivostok, to re-organize the party.

In March, 1926, the reconstructed party was recognized as an international branch of the Comintern. Subsequently, the party opened overseas liaison offices at Tokyo, in Manchuria and at Shanghai. The Shanghai office, however, was closed in July of the same year, while the Manchurian office was renamed the Manchurian Bureau with its headquarters established at Imienpo, a town on the eastern sector of the old Russian-controlled Chinese Eastern Railway.

After the creation of the Manchurian Bureau of the Korean Communist Party, the Kaoli Communist Party was merged into it. On the other hand, the All-Russia Kaoli Communist Party active in Russian territory became part and parcel of the Russian Communist Party. Thus both practically disappeared. The Manchurian Bureau was created in order to give direction to the activity of the Korean Communists residing in Manchuria as an extension of Korea. Until 1930 when the bureau was taken over by the Chinese Communist Party, its leaders actually played a major role in the development of the Manchurian Communist movement.

In 1927. however, was effected a sweeping roundup

of those leaders of the bureau, who were active in East Manchurian districts. The following year saw further roundups of Korean Communists affiliated with the Manchurian Bureau of the Kaoli Communist Young Men's Association, the Communist Young Men's Leagues and the various organs manipulated by the MOPR Until April, 1929, four more roundups of remnant Communists followed, dealing a severe blow to the Communist movement.

Occurrence of friction among the ranks of the Korean Communist Party was an unexpected sequel to these roundups, and within the party were formed a number of rival factions. The friction among them was so intense that the party situation became uncontrollable. By 1929, however, three of these competing factions became mainstays of the party, they being the Allied Group embracing the Shanghai and Seoul factions, M.L. faction operating in the Panshih-hsien district of Manchuria and the Tuesday Group with its headquarters at a certain point on the eastern section of the old Chinese Eastern Railway.

C. The Advance of the Chinese Communist Party into Manchuria

The Red Campaign in South China also extended to the Kwantung Leased Territory. As a result, a group named the Chinese Workers' Association was organized in Dairen among laborers working in the mechanical plants of the South Manchuria Railway Company and other factories in the city toward the end of 1923. Under the guise of a harmless organization, this body conducted various flagrant machinations in secret. With generous working funds received from the Chinese Communist Party, it instigated malcontented elements of the Fukushima Spinning Mill to go on

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strike in 1926, and next year went the length of organizing the Dairen Local Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

After the old Three North-eastern Provinces came under the control of the Chinese Government the influence of the Kuomintang Government was steadily extended to Manchuria. With it, the Chinese Communist Party acquired a foothold in Manchuria and finally it appointed a Manchuria Provincial Committee at Mukden.

Meanwhile, the congress of the Comintern, which took place at Moscow in July, 1928, determined upon a policy of bolshevizing the Far East. During the closing part of the following year, a Sino-Russian conflict occurred on their border, which was settled on terms humilitating to China. As a result, the Russian Communist Party began to wield a considerable influence over North Manchuria. At Harbin, an anti-Imperialistic league and a Red labor union were organized. In South Manchuria, another Red labor union comprising coalmine workers was created at Fushun under the direction of the Chinese Communist Party.

Both parties then started extensive propaganda campaigns in the factory zones of South Manchuria centralizing around Harbin, Fushun, Mukden and Dairen, and in the districts along the old Chinese Eastern Railway, the S.M.R. lines and the old Mukden-Peking Railway. Propaganda was directed even to farmers, students and women.

Meanwhile, various organs under the control of the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party were established to operate in competition with those under the supervision of the Manchurian Bureau of the Korean Communist Party.

Recognizing this situation the Third International from the standpoint of the maintenance of one Com-

munist Party for one State decided to order the Korean communists in Manchuria to formally join the Chinese Communist Party and to participate directly in the accomplishment of a revolution in China as a pre-requisite to the bolshevization of Manchuria. Around January, 1930, a joint conference of representatives of the Korean and Chinese Communists in Manchuria was convoked. To the conference was submitted a motion calling for the transfer of all the Korean Communist organs in Manchuria to the Chinese Communist Party for the purpose first of assisting in the Chinese revolutionary movement and second of accelerating the drive for restoring Korean independence. Between March and August of that year, the merger was completed. This enabled the Chinese Communist Party to extend its activity to all parts of Manchuria. Then under the supervision of the Manchuria Provincial Committee at Mukden were created the special North Manchurian Committee (at Harbin), the special South Manchurian Committee (at Mukden) and the special East Manchurian Committee (at Yenki). Further under these three special committees, city (at Harbin and Mukden) and hsien committees were appointed. In the towns where neither a city nor a hsien committee was appointed, special branches were opened.

With regard to military operations, an independent Military Affairs Committee was created by the Chinese Communist Party. As Communist young men's organizations, there were the Manchurian Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Young Men's Association and its subsidiary organs. The International Revolutionary Fighters' Relief Societies (MOPR) which were created included the Manchuria Provincial Relief Association and its auxiliary organs. Operatins as a central labor organ was the Manchuria bureau at Mukden of the Chinese Federation of Labor at Shanghai,

under the control of which the Liaoning Federation of Labor (Mukden), the Kirin Federation of Labor (Kirin) and the Heilungkiang Federation of Labor (Harbin) functioned. To the Liaoning Federation of Labor belonged the Mukden-Peking Railway, Fushun, Anshan, Penhsihu, Yingkow and Dairen Labor Unions.

The Chinese Communist Party paid particular attention to the farm movement. In 1930, the old Farmers' League belonging to the Korean Communist Party was organized into a Farmers' Association.

In 1929, an international anti-Imperialistic league was formed first at Harbin with the teachers and students of the local proletarian night school. Similar leagues were established later at Mukden and Kirin. By maintaining their branches at points along the old Chinese Eastern Railway, in South Manchuria and East Manchuria, these leagues acted positively upon various students' organizations, anti-Japanese establishments and diplomatic institutions in an effort to agitate the anti-Imperialistic Communists in the country. To operate as Communist cultural organs, the Chinese Federation of Sociology, reading-parties and others were organized.

Later, however, these Communist organs in Manchuria were re-organized for a time following the adoption by the Chinese Communist Party of a progressionist policy advocated by one of its leaders, Li Li-san. In September, 1930, the Manchuria Provincial Committee, special district committees, relief associations and others were abolished, in place of which were established newly the General Manchurian Committee of Action, the special East, South and North Manchurian Committees of Action and city, hsien and ward committees of action. By this, the Chinese Communist Party planned to unify its control over all Communist activities in Manchuria and endeavor-

ed to attain its three main objectives, (1) creation of labor strikes of a political nature, (2) organization of "partisan" bodies and establishment of Soviet regimes and (3) provocation of disturbances by the masses and organization of Red armies. Subsequently, various Red corps volant were formed. Especially in the Panshih district the 32nd Red Corps was formally established. But the policy of Li Li-san proved to be a complete failure, whereupon the Communist movement in Manchuria began to be carried on again by the former organs which were re-established in accordance with instructions from the Third International.

D. Activity of the Russian Communist Party in Mukden

A survey should be made of the movement in Manchuria of the Russian Communist Party in relation to the activity of the Korean and Chinese Communists. Soon after the Soviet Government was created in Russia, intense friction evolved between the Bolshevists and Mensheviks. In Siberia, the Bolshevists had to face the expeditionary army of the allies and the forces of the White Regime. Notwithstanding such a state of affairs in Russia, a Russian Bolshevist party organ was established at Harbin about 1917 in opposition to General Holwat, a White Russian leader of the anti-Bolshevist movement in North Manchuria. This organ conducted a systematic propaganda campaign among the rank and file of the army commanded by the General. It may not be amiss to believe that the creation of the said organ heralded the infiltration of the Russian Communist Party's influence into Manchuria.

While trying to maintain a close liaison with the Communist Party of their homeland, these Russian Communists in Manchuria directed their propaganda

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campaign to the laboring class and especially the Russian employees of the old Chinese Eastern Railway. In an endeavor to expand the scope of their movement, they in March, 1920, opened at Harbin the Chinese Eastern Railway Zone Communist Party Office. Following the arrival at Harbin of a Siriakov, a secret emissary of the Soviet Government, the Communist movement in North Manchuria made rapid headway.

After the Russian Revolution, however, China attempted to recover the interests of Russia in North Manchuria including, inter alia, the Chinese Eastern Railway. In 1920, she restored policing rights within the Chinese Eastern Railway Zone by employing armed force. In October of the same year, she further recovered the rights of jurisprudence in the zone. This action coincided with the conclusion of a Sino-Russian treaty providing for joint management of the railway. Finally, China took practical control of the railway after recovering communication rights in the zone in January, 1921, and municipal administration rights in May. After that, the activity of the Russian Communist Party and with it the political influence of U.S.S.R. in North Manchuria lost much of its vigor.

In an effort to regain its former influence, the Soviet Communist Party thereupon planned to establish a Red Professional League which would outwardly be a legal organization. The Soviets bribed the Chinese authorities into approving the plan. With this seemingly legal organ used as their new base of operation, the Soviets started fresh activity. After the Sino-Soviet agreements of March, 1924, and October of the same year, it, indeed, seemed that Russia's political influence in North Manchuria had further declined, but on the other hand, Soviet interests in North Manchuria were stabilized to some extent by these two agreements. This fact made easier the conduct of the Soviet Communist

Party's activity. By 1925, the Red hand of Communism was extended to the Chinese employees of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

When the so-called Kuo Sung-ling incident involving a revolt by General Kuo's army against Marshal Chang Tso-lin occurred, the Chinese authorities took under detention Ivanov, chairman of the Directorate of the Chinese Eastern Railway, in connection with transport of Chinese troops. The dispute heightened Sino-Soviet tension for a time, but as a result of the negotiations conducted between the Chinese Mukden authorities and the Soviet Consul there, the matter was amicably settled.

After the Kuo Sung-ling incident, the Chinese authorities maintained an exceedingly cautious attitude towards Russian machinations and plots. During one year and a half following, however, no trouble occurred. In April, 1927, a grave plot by the Comintern was unearthed in North China and the Soviet Legation premises were subjected to a Chinese police search. Subsequently, the Communist elements at Nanking and Hankow were drastically suppressed. The outbreak in December of the same year of the so-called Canton incident led to a complete rupture of Sino-Soviet diplomatic relations.

Since a continuance of the Communist movement in China Proper thus became increasingly difficult, the Soviet Communist Party now decided to direct its activity to Manchuria and Mongolia. In 1928, Merinikov, Director of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Moscow Foreign Commissariat, was appointed Soviet Consul-General at Harbin. After that, the Soviet Consulate-General in that North Manchurian city functioned as the highest Soviet diplomatic organ in China and as the supreme organ in the Soviet Communist movement in China.

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Before the appointment of Merinikov, the highest Soviet Communist organ in North Manchuria was the North Manchurian Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, which was successor to the former Chinese Eastern Railway Zone Communist Party Office. This committee was engaged in an aggressive, open propaganda campaign, manipulating as its outer organs the Far Eastern Bank, the Far Eastern Forestry Trust, the O.G.P.U. and the various professional unions legally organized.

After a Chinese police search was conducted at the Soviet Legation at Peking in April, 1927, in connection with a grave Communist plot, the Chinese authorities in Manchuria took an exceedingly oppressive stand towards the menace of Communism. Hence, the Soviet Communists in North Manchuria after the arrival of Consul-General Merinikov changed their former policy and began to concentrate upon indirect, underground operations through the professional unions and others which outwardly seemed unrelated to the Communist Party.

But on May 27, 1929, the Chinese authorities at Harbin visited and examined the Soviet Consulate-General there without notice, claiming that the consular building was the venue for frequent secret meetings of Communists. More than 30 Soviet nationals present were arrested and many papers and documents seized. Merinikov and the former Soviet Consul-General at Mukden, Kuzunetsov, who happened to be staying there, were confined to the Consulate General building.

The Soviet Government under date of May 31 communicated an official note to the Chinese Government, strongly protesting against the incident and demanding the immediate release of all the Soviets arrested and the papers and documents seized. The note also

declared that the Chinese Legation and Consulates in Russia would be otherwise denied all the privileges and rights granted them by international law.

Actually, however, the Soviet Government neither changed its treatment of the Chinese Minister and other diplomatic officials nor did it take any retaliatory action. Though outwardly taking a strong stand, the Soviet Government undeniably desired to find an amicable solution for the matter.

In July, 1929, the Chinese authorities, taking advantange of the passive Soviet attitude, forcibly dismissed the Soviet chairman and vice-chairman of the Directorate of the Chinese Eastern Railway and other high Soviet railway officials. All their successors were Chinese or White Russians. The Chinese also seized the railway land section and the telephone bureau, together with the libraries. Dissolution of the Professional Union and the Railway Employees' Association was also ordered. Other coercive steps including the compulsory closing of Soviet commercial establishments were taken by the Chinese authorities. As a result, Sino-Soviet diplomatic relations ruptured on November 29 of that year.

Suddenly taking a markedly stiff stand, the Soviet Union towards the end of that month started aggressive military operations from Manchouli, demanding the restoration of the status quo of the Railway. Ir the battle that followed, the Chinese troops were routed and finally the Mukden regime made peace overtures. On December 22, a peace protocol containing terms humilitating to China was signed at Khabarovsk, providing, first of all for the restoration of the condition that had existed before the dismissal of the Soviet railway officials. The protocol also called for the opening at Moscow in January, 1931, of a formal Sino-Soviet diplomatic conference for a solution of all the outstand-

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ing railway problems, the restoration of diplomatic relations and for a discussion of the trade issue. At the parley, so wide a difference arose between the claims put forth by both States that an agreement was not reached quickly.

While the negotiations were at a standstill, Soviet Russia, taking advantage of the enfluence won by the military action, tried to oust the White Russians from North Manchuria and stamp out all anti-Communist elements. At the same time. the Soviet Communist organs in North Manchuria were enlarged and perfected. Again, the Chinese Eastern Railway was used as the citadel of the Russian Communists. Camouflaged as pure commercial establishments, these Communist organs intensified their activity.

Meanwhile, the Red Professional Union which, as an organ under direct control of the Russian Communist Party, had played an important role in the Russian Communist movement in North Manchuria was ordered dissolved by the Chinese authorities when the 1929 dispute occurred. But in reality, it did not disappear : it secretly continued its activity, escaping the attention of the Chinese authorities. Especially after 1931, its activity became conspicuously positive.

On the other hand, the North Manchurian Committee of the All-Soviet Leninist Young Men's League (Comsomol), charged with the mission of training Communists, frequently opened secret reading and lecture parties. The committee also conducted its activity through the medium of the various clubs and sports bodies.

While the so-called Fighting Volunteer Corps, organized in 1925 as the nucleus of that committee, had effectively menaced the rear of the Chinese troops during the 1929 dispute by assassinating Chin-

ese, upsetting trains and destroying important buildings, and committing other terroristic acts.

E. A Brief Survey of the Communist Movement Immediately Before the Manchurian Incident

The theoretical organization of the Chinese Communist Party in Manchuria was in many cases not put in practice. For instance, in the districts where the numbers of party members were small, or in the case of some lower party organs, the same members were affiliated with many different organs. Furthermore, its activity in Manchuria was not so vigorous or extensive as in Central or South China. But the guerilla campaign conducted chiefly by groups of Korean Communists in East Manchuria, the anti-Imperialistic movement staged around Harbin, the labor movement carried out in the Fushun district and the farm movement in the Panshih area were conspicuous from the outset and showed signs of gathering force.

As the result of the vigorous movement launched by the International Anti-Imperialistic League at Harbin after the settlement of the Sino-Russian conflict of 1929, a serious incident occurred in that city in April 1, 1930, in which a band of Communist students raided the office of the Kuo Chi Hsieh Pao, a local Chinese vernacular paper (Note 1). Close on the heels of this incident occurred another in April, this time at Mukden, involving an attack by a group of Communist students engineered by the said league upon a lecture party given by the local National Diplomatic Society (Note 2).

Later at the end of May, the Korean Communists in the Chientao district, who formerly belonged to the Korean Communist Party, raised a guerilla disturbance at Lungchingtsun and Toutaokow which were incessant-

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ly continued for more than half a year in the locality (Note 3). The Korean Communists who were responsible for this uprising raised another disturbance in the Tunghua area at the beginning of August (Note 4). After a lapse of about three months, members of the Farmers' Association in Kaiyuan-hsien attacked the Kaiyuan Public Safety Office Headquarters at the end of October (Note 5).

In the middle part of November of the same year, a wholesale roundup by the Japanese police authorities at Fushun of the Chinese Communists there disclosed the plot of the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to stage armed disturbances on a large scale at Harbin, Mukden, Fushun and Dairen simultaneously in the middle part of December (Note 6). This plot, however, was nipped in the bud. On January 4, 1931, the Communist elements in the Chinese garrison at Pokotu attempted to rise in revolt, but the attempt was forestalled (Note 7). Thus, Communist troubles of growing seriousness occurred in succession in different parts of the country.

Note 1: Soon after the Sino-Russian dispute of 1929 was settled towards the end of that year, the Chinese Communist Party secretly sent to Harbin a group of its members charged with the task of reconstructing its Harbin City Committee. From about February, 1930, the administrator of the Special Harbin District began drastically to suppress the Communist elements. Several roundups of the students and raids upon book-stores participating in the anti-Imperialistic movement were carried out, dealing a fatal blow to the movement. Meanwhile, the students of the Chinese-managed Harbin College (not the present Harbin College), who then were engaged in a separate Communist movement by agitating pupils of middle-grade schools in that city, staged a demonstration in April of that year involving more than one hundred demonstrators. They presented a drastically worded manifesto to the Kuo Chi Hsieh Pao, a Chinese newspaper, demanding that the article be published. Upon the demand being turned down, about half of them attacked and damaged the office of that newspaper the following day.

Note 2: On April 8, 1930, the students of the Second Technological College at Mukden staged a demonstration, demanding immediate dismissal of its principal. Four days later, namely, on April 12, about ten students of the college stormed into a lecture given by the National Diplomatic Society, causing an uproarious scene. Several ringleaders were arrested by the local Chinese gendarmes. When they were examined, it was ascertained that radical elements affiliated with the Harbin Anti-Imperialistic League influenced these students. It was further disclosed that these students had plotted to start large-scale demonstrations on May 1 at Harbin, Mukden, Fushun and Dairen and also at Taian, Yenki and Liuho which are the local disrtibuting centres of farm products.

Note 3: Geographically, the Chientao district provided convenient bases of operation for the disaffected Korean malcontents. It was for this reason that many radical Korean racial groups had been rampant in East Manchuria from an early age. Gradually, however, the influence of these racial organizations declined, to make way for a growth of Communist activity. Especially after the Korean Communist Party started activity in Manchuria in 1926, the Communist movement quickly gained ground under the direction of the Manchurian Bureau of the Korean Communist Party.

But just at that time, the Chientao district was suffering from an unprecedented economic panic which gave the remnant Communists a golden opportunity to act effectively upon the proletarian class and lawless elements in the district. Though suppressed by the authorities on many occasions, the under currents of the Communist movement considerably expanded. As a result, the Korean Communist factions still active in the district joined hands by liquidating their internal strife for the purpose of presenting a united front. They made a fresh start in their activity in Manchuria which they this time regarded not as a mere territorial extension of Korea. Between April and August of 1930, they formally joined the Chinese Communist Party. They were guided by the East Manchurian Special Committee under the control of the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

On May 30 of that year, the anniversary of the notorious May 30 Incident, a riot was started in various parts of the Chientao district. In the Lungchingtsun-Toutaokow area, riotous mobs on the nights of that day and May 31 distributed radical handbills and committed all manner of outrages including the destruction by fire of the offices of the local Korean residents' associations and public libraries, the blasting of power plants, the cutting of telegraphic wires and the wrecking of railway and other bridges.

The disturbance was suppressed by Japanese and Chinese authorities in a relatively short time, but nevertheless their activities gradually assumed mobbish dimensions. Later,

majority of the leading Communists were arrested jointly by the Japanese and Chinese authorities.

By December, the working system of the Communist elements in the Chientao district was all but completely destroyed.

Note 4: A group of the old Korean Communist Party, under the direction and support of the Chinese Communist Party, which was responsible for the May 30 disturbance, provoked another mass riot in Tunhua-hsien along the Kirin-Tunhua Railway around International Red Day on August 1, 1930, assisted by the Chinese Communist Party. Bridges were burned, telegraph wires cut, telegraph poles felled, Chinese police stations assaulted and other atrocities perpetrated.

This Tunhua disturbance was suppressed promptly by Chinese police and military forces.

Note 5: About two score members of the farmers associations in the Kaiyuan area attacked the Kaiyuan Public Safety Bureau. More than a hundred Chinese soldiers and policemen were called out to fight the assailants to suppress the disturbance.

Note 6: The Chinese Communist Party from the outset paid particular attention to its activity in Fushun, because there were in this town a great number of Chinese coalmine workers. In August 1930, the special Fushun branch of the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the party was open. Almost simultaneously was organized the Fushun Coalmine Workers' Union under the direct control of the Manchurian branch of the China Federation of Labor at Shanghai.

Under orders from the central party headquarters, the Manchuria Provincial Committee directed its efforts towards expanding its activity in East and North Manchuria. The committee then plotted to create grave disturbances at Harbin, Mukden, Fushun and Dairen before or after December 1 when a National Soviet Congress was scheduled to open. Its plot to be carried out at Fushun was for the establishment of a local Soviet regime by instigating the Chinese coalmine workers into declaring a general strike, attacking and destroying the power plant, machinery and oil-shale factories, principal Japanese and Chinese public organs, assassinating high Sino-Japanese officials and then occupying the whole town.

The plotters, however, were rounded up by the local Japanese authorities before their destructive plan could materialize.

Note 7: The Communist elements within the Chinese 38th Army Corps garrisoning at Potokou on the old Chinese Eastern Railway, who had undergone a thorough Bolshevik education while in detention by the Soviet Army at the time of the Sino-Soviet dispute, conspired to start a mutiny during the New Year season of 1931 and then to urge the Chinese garrisons at Manchouli and other points to follow suit. But the ringleaders were arrested on January 4 and the plot was foiled.

In the face of this alarming situation, the Chinese authorities in Manchuria became more serious in suppressing the Communist movement, with the Kirin Provincial Anti-Communist Office and the Kirin Anti-Communist Army Headquarters established for this purpose. Also in that province which was a veritable hotbed of Communism, special regulations concerning the subjugation of Communists and the control of Communist elements in educational institutions were enforced. All possible suppressive measures against Communism were taken, including the emergency peace preservation law promulgated in February, 1931.

In the Chientao district, Chinese police and military authorities were on the alert against the Communists, while the local Japanese police organs were perfected to combat the menace of Bolshevism. Round-ups of Communists were carried out time and again. In the Mukden and Fushun districts, Japanese and Chinese authorities rounded up members of the labor unions several times in June and August, 1929, and in November, 1930, inflicting a severe blow upon the Communist movement. Meanwhile, the strife among the various factions of the Chinese Communist Party was greatly sharpened as the Li Li-san policy was revised. This internal strife detracted much from the influence of the party. Nevertheless, importunate activities by the Communist agitators and 'agents provocateurs' continued rather consistently for some time until in such a state of disturbances the Manchurian Incident broke out.

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CHAPTER III
THE COMINTERN'S MACHINATIONS AFTER THE MANCHURIAN INCIDENT

It was in 1916 that the late Marshal Chang Tso-lin, who rose to eminence from a mere bandit, was appointed commander of the Mukden Army and concurrently Governor of Mukden Province. Further, he was installed in another post as Pacification Commissioner in the three Eastern Provinces. As the actual ruler of Manchuria, he thus wielded a tremendous influence. When he was killed in a railway explosion incident near Mukden in June, 1928, he was succeeded by his son, Chang Hsueh-liang, who in January, 1929, pledged his allegiance to the Kuomintang Government China, unfurling the Chinese national flag for the first time in Manchuria.

The Chang militarist regime had no other aim than its selfish ends. It indulged in sucking the life-blood of the masses and was simply the centre of hatred of the people. After Chang Hsueh-liang threw in his lot with the Kuomintang Government, his anti-Japanese policy became markedly pronounced. In a desparate effort to destroy the special position of Japan in Manchuria, bought with blood in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, Chang took various obstinate measures against Japan, including the forcible recovery of some legitimate Japanese interests and the oppression of Japanese and Korean residents.

In September, 1931, villainous Chinese troops blasted the tracks of the South Manchuria Railway in the vicinity of Mukden, whereupon the Japanese Army

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in Manchuria, its patience exhausted, rose to action. After driving Chang's troops from Manchuria, the Japanese Army pacified the whole land, thus laying a foundation for the establishment of a new State. Thus, the founding of the present Manchoukuo was officially pronounced on March 1, 1932.

1. The Outbreak of the Manchurian Incident and the Manchurian Communist Party

The outbreak of the Manchurian Incident provided the Communist Party with a golden opportunity for action.

Meanwhile, the remnant Chinese troops and lawless elements remained active in different localities. Taking advantage of the fact that order had not yet been completely restored, they endeavored to expand their strength. In East Manchuria, the mutinous Chinese troops commanded by Wang Te-lin, the notorious Long Swords Corps of armed marauders and others including such as "National Salvation Volunteers Corps" joined forces, staging guerilla warfare for the first time. In North Manchuria, too, railway explosion outrages frequently occurred. It thus appeared that the Communist movement was continued with some amount of success. Coupled with the augmentation of the army and police forces in Manchoukuo, the despatch of Japanese troops to the bandit-ridden Chientao district and the frequent roundups of outlaws by Japanese police authorities, however, the general situation sensibly improved.

In the latter part of September, 1931, the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued to its various subsidiary organs throughout Manchuria a radical manifesto entitled: "Notice to the Korean laborers, farmers, students and all toiling

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classes in connection with the military occupation of Manchuria by Japanese Imperialism." The upshot of the manifesto was:

"That in less than several days after September 18, the Japanese Imperialists with a lightning speed occupied completely many towns, large and small, in Manchuria is an outcome of the voluntary disarming of the Chinese troops by the Kuomintang militarist clique. Thus, the Kuomintang has exposed itself as a mere tool of Imperialism. The present Japanese Imperialistic action is intended to realize her so-called positive Manchuria-Mongolian policy for alleviating her internal political and economic crisis and oppressing the Chinese and Korean revolutionary masses and is the first step to a military attack upon the Soviet Union, fatherland of the world proletarian masses.

Alluding to the Koreans in Manchuria, the manifesto declared in part: "Escaping the oppression of Japanese Imperialsm, they have emigrated into Manchuria, but still, Japanese Imperialistic exploitation of them has followed. It is high time for these unfortunate Koreans to rise and struggle for their holy emancipation under the guidance of the Chinese Communist Party and with the cooperation of their Chinese proletarian colleagues". The manifesto also urged non-payment of farm-rents and taxes, enforcement of a land revolution, free distribution of the landowners' crops among poor people, carrying out of labor strikes, development of guerilla warfare, armed support for the Soviet Union, crushing of the Chinese Kuomintang Party and Japanese Imperialism and joining of all boys' scouting corps, children's groups, anti-Imperialistic leagues and Red labor unions and farmers' associations. The manifesto was generally construed as expressing most clearly the views of the Communists versus the Manchurian Incident.

Later, in September of that year, the Manchuria Provincial Committee adopted "an emergency resolution regarding operations towards troops". In accordance with this resolution, the committee planned to Bolshevize the Chinese troops by taking advantage of the Japanese military operations still continued in Manchuria. Instructions were given immediately to its various organs to instigate the Chinese soldiers into rejecting their superior officers, disobeying orders from them, appointing committees, demanding abolition of the class system among the troops, organizing a Red Army to cause a downfall of the Kuomintang militarist regime and opening an armed resistance against the Japanese military action in Manchuria.

Further, the committee distributed a "Notice to Kuomintang Troops" and a "Notice to Japanese Soldiers Regarding Military Occupation of Manchuria by Japanese Imperialism" in an attempt to Bolshevize both the Japanese and Chinese armies. Numerous copies of "An Outline of Propaganda Towards Troops under the Present Situation" sent from the central headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party were made and distributed among the remnant Chinese troops in Manchuria.

On the other hand, the special North Manchurian Committee of the Chinese Communist Party spread propaganda to the effect that a Red army would be organized with groups of remnant troops in different districts for launching an armed anti-Japanese campaign. In November, leading members of the Ningan hsien committee met in conference and adopted a resolution declaring that the Chinese and Korean proletarian troops, supporting the Kuomintang militarist clique for the time being, should quickly drive the Japanese troops from Manchuria.

Further, members of the Kaoli, Communist Party

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at Vladivostok, under the direction of the Far Eastern executive committee of the Soviet Communist Party, formulated a plan for intensifying its activity in Manchuria and Northern Korea and according to the plan, many of its members were secretly despatched to Manchuria.

Upon the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, the Soviet Communists in Manchuria assumed a neutral stand, but as the Japanese troops advanced into North Manchuria, the Soviet Union concentrated large Red forces in the border region and at the same time mobilized her Communists to stand by for a possible emergency. Fearing that the advance of the Japanese troops into North Manchuria and the subsequent commencement of Japanese military operations in East Manchuria might inevitably lead to a Soviet-Japanese clash, the Soviet Union suddenly started action to disturb the peace and order of Manchuria.

From early in 1932, outrages continued to be perpetrated by the Soviet Communists, including the destruction of the tracks of the southern sector of the old Chinese Eastern Railway (the present Hsinking-Harbin line) late in January, a bombing incident at Harbin station at the end of March, a plot to dynamite the Second Sungari River railway bridge in the early part of April, another plot to blast the tracks of the eastern sector of the Chinese Eastern Railway (the present Harbin-Suifenho line) in the middle part of April and the upsetting of a train on the same line on the same day.

Suspected of complicity in these terrorist outrages, 60 Soviet nationals were arrested by the Harbin Special District Police Board. According to an announcement from the board, all these incidents had been prepared by members of a bombing band collateral to the Fighting Volunteer Corps which was organized at Harbin in 1925 as the nucleus of the branch of the Comsomol.

2. *Organization of the Communist Party After the Manchurian Incident*

Now, it is fitting to make a brief survey of the organization of the Communist Party in Manchuria after the Manchurian Incident. Before the Manchurian Incident, the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party had operated at Mukden as the highest party organ, under which were the special North Manchuria, South Manchurian and East Manchurian Committees. But their activity just before the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident was nearly halted by the strict suppressive measures taken by Sino-Japanese authorities. They made desperate efforts to resume their activity, but almost in vain. Especially after the outbreak of the incident, Japanese military and police authorities instituted a thoroughgoing search for the Communists and frequently carried out roundups. The network of the "cells" which had sprung up like mushrooms in the Chientao district was gradually crushed by the Japanese authorities.

In November, 1931, several outstanding members of the Manchuria Provincial Committee were taken under arrest by the Japanese gendarmerie, with the result that any further continuance of the committee's activity in that city became impossible. Accordingly, a decision was taken to remove the committee to Harbin.

Thus the committee, together with the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Young Men's Association, was transferred to that North Manchurian city in January, 1932. Simultaneously, the new special Liaohsi District Committee was created at Taian, in addition to the already existing special North Manchurian, South Manchurian and East Manchurian Committees. Soon afterwards, however, the

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special North Manchurian Committee was abolished, and in its place was appointed the special Harbin City Committee. Further, the special South Manchurian Committee was re-organized as the special Mukden Committee.

As the result, of repeated anti-Communist punitive drives by Japanese troops and police, the special Liaohsi District Committee finally crumbled from within. The special Mukden Committee also was practically dissolved following a wholesale roundup of the local Communists in June, 1933.

In November 1932, a certain Liu, a Chinese Communist despatched by the Third International, arrived secretly in Harbin and inspected the general activity of the Manchuria Provincial Committee. Commenting upon his findings, Liu pointed out:

1. A decline in the number of party members in consequence of the lack of thoroughness in anti-Japanese operations.
2. Incompleteness of operations towards the Chinese troops. (In this regard, he noted that only one Chinese corps had mutinied under the direction of the Communist Party, all the other mutinied Chinese troops did so through Kuomintang's instigation).
.3 Dissolution of International Revolutionary Fighters' Relief Societies (MOPR) was a mistake.

Liu further pointed out that "a purge" of members of the party and members of the Communist young men's association should be carried out after carefully re-examining their personal position and that attention should be directed to the conduct of operations towards young men through the medium of academic research and other proper establishments.

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Towards the end of 1932, the Manchuria Provincial Committee expressed a desire to divorce itself from the Chinese Communist Party and become an organ under the direct supervision of the Third International for reasons of communications and geography as well as for coping with the new situation brought about by the advent of Manchoukuo.

But the Comintern declined to approve the committee's intention, on the ground that a majority of the Manchurian people were Chinese and moreover, Manchuria was a scene of Sino-Japanese disputes and therefore the maintenance of the committee under the control of the Chinese Communist Party was greatly advantageous for manoeuvering the revolutionary movement of the oppressed masses.

In reality, however, the committee began to be directed by both the Chinese Communist Party and the Comintern: its activity in conducting propaganda and enlisting party members was supervised mainly by the Chinese Communist Party, while its operations for destroying railways, industrial enterprises, etc., were continued under the direct guidance of the Comintern. Thus organized was the so-called "International Operation Corps," an organ to be directly controlled by the Comintern for carrying out terroristic activities and conducting espionage work in Manchoukuo.

Meanwhile, the Comintern which had worked out in the spring of 1932 a fresh policy for Bolshevizing Manchuria in view of the new situation after the Manchurian Incident, and decided at its 12th plenary meeting held at Moscow in the autumn of the same year, the new lines along which to continue international Communist operations began to show greater eagerness in directing the activity of the Manchuria Provincial Committee. After the spring of 1933, the Comintern's organs at Vladivostok operating along these new lines

opened routes of communication with the Manchuria Provincial Committee and its East Kirin bureau. The Comintern sent many able Chinese Communists to Manchuria to give direction to the progress of the Red movement along the lines determined by its Moscow congress.

Now that the new tactics of the popular front were adopted at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist international at Moscow, the Comintern towards the end of that year sent one Han Shou-kuei, a Chinese Communist graduate of the Eastern University at Moscow, charging him with the task of (1) developing a new popular front (united anti-Japanese front in Manchuria), (2) re-organizing the Manchuria Provincial Committee and (3) dissolving the Communist Young Men's Associations in Manchuria.

Han secretly arrived at Harbin in January, 1936, and took immediate steps to dissolve the Manchuria Provincial Committee and at the same time, to create a new special Harbin Committee. Becoming secretary of the newly appointed special Harbin Committee, Han without delay proceeded to re-organize the various organs of the party throughout Manchuria with a view to establishing three Special Committees (at Harbin, Mukden and Dairen) and four Provincial Committees (South Manchuria, East Kirin, Hatung, and Sunkiang).

It appeared that they decided to organize all these new committees on an equal footing and place them under the direct supervision of the Chinese Communist Party, but in reality, only Harbin Special Committee, South Manchuria Provincial Committee, North Manchuria Provincial Committee, and East Kirin Provincial Committee were organized.

Communist Young Men's Associations in Manchuria were under the supervision of the Chinese Communist Young Men's Association. The Manchuria Provincial Committee of that association was establish-

ed at Harbin, and under instructions from the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, was engaged in a movement to accelerate Bolshevization of the young men of Manchuria. In some districts these young men's associations were so active that they almost outshone the local party organs. Simultaneously with the abolition of the Manchuria Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in January, 1936, the committee of the Chinese Communist Young Men's Association was dissolved, together with all its subsidiary organs.

The dissolution of the Communist Young Men's Association thus was a sequel to the disappearance of the Chinese Communist Young Men's Association. In the previous year, namely, 1935, the 7th World Congress of the Comintern and the 6th Congrses of the Communist Young Men's International adopted resolutions, stipulating that a worldwide popular front movement should be launched. As a result, it became necessary to expand the scope of activity of the Comintern and to enlist co-operation of Red and quasi-Red world masses in this direction. With the progress of the movement towards the young men's class, it became imperative to dissolve the young men's associations the activity of which had tended to be ruled excessively by sectionalism. Otherwise would it be impossible to drive the movement deeper into the young men's class, the Communist leaders concerned evidently concluded.

After the dissolution of these Young Men's Associations, the various bodies participating in the anti-Japanese racial front in different districts were permitted freely to organize their internal machinery. It seemed that by rejecting formalism, a plan was thus laid down to ensure a substantial development of the racial front movement. It apparently was in pursuance of this aim that a National Salvation Young Men's Association

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was established at Harbin and the North Manchuria National Salvation Young Men's Federation created to operate in North Manchurian districts.

In April, 1936, however, a drastic roundup of the Communists affiliated with the special Harbin City Committee was carried out, causing an almost complete breakdown of the propulsive force of the Communist movement in Manchuria. The suppression of the remnant Communists by the authorities was continued with redoubled vigor and finally, all Communist organs in the districts other than those specified for the elimination of Communist marauders were crushed.

Also in those districts still infested by Communist outlaws, pacification operations were conducted vigorously by Japan-Manchoukuo military and police authorities. The South Manchuria Provincial Committee was believed to have also collapsed between the latter part of 1937 and the first half of 1938, all of its remnant members having fled. With their main bases of operation crushed by the authorities, early in 1938, the East Kirin Provincial Committee (established in March, 1937) and the provisional North Manchuria Provincial Committee also crumbled, with many of their members taken under arrest and the others having fled away.

Those leaders of the committees and party members who escaped being arrested joined local anti-Japanese troops. Thus, forced to discontinue the political movement, they began to start a fresh movement directed towards the public through the instrumentality of an armed resistance of the anti-Japanese troops or 'Red bandits'. That is to say, they had themselves enlisted under the banner of the Federated Anti-Japanese Army holding its ground in the mountainous region as they had to leave the urban districts. But their movement this time was confined to the districts along the north-eastern Soviet-border and to the Tungpientao district.

By this time, the Manchoukuo Communists were cut off from the Comintern's instructions with the wholesale arrest of the Special Harbin Committee in 1936, followed by the roundup of the International Liaison Office, an organ acting as intermediary between the Comintern and the Manchurian Communist organs for delivery of orders and funds. It appeared that the Manchurian Communists resumed receiving instructions from the Chinese Communist Party.

3. The Soviet Communist Party Before the Transfer of the North Manchuria Railway

The supreme organ in Manchuria of the Soviet Communist Party was the North Manchurian Committee of the All-Soviet Communist Party. This Committee was under the direct control of the Far Eastern District Sub-Committee, at Khabarovsk, of the Soviet Communist Party. Through this committee came all orders from the central committee at Moscow of the All-Soviet Communist Party.

At first, the Soviet Union regarded Harbin as a prefecture in her own territory. Hence, the highest Soviet Communist Party organ in North Manchuria was named the North Manchuria Prefectural Committee (or the Harbin Prefectural Committee), but around 1930, its name was changed to the North Manchurian Committee, and it was housed in the Soviet Consulate-General at Harbin. In addition to its standing staff of a secretary, a political guidance secretary, the chief of the organization section, the chief of the agitating section and the chief of the women's section, the committee comprised five regular members representing the employees of the North Manchuria Railway (the former Chinese Eastern Railway), consular officials and the Far Eastern Bank (Dalibank).

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Soon after the transfer to Manchoukuo of the North Manchuria Railway, which took place in 1935, many of the Soviet nationals in North Manchuria withdrew. At present, therefore, the activity of this committee seems to be quite limited.

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CHAPTER IV.

ANTI-JAPANESE RACIAL UNITED FRONT

1. Formation of the Anti-Japanese Racial United Front:

The Communist movement in colonies or semi-colonial lands like China or India is characterized by its association with the racial emancipation movement against Imperialism. But this does not necessarily involve such a united front by different races as the so-called popular front of the present day. The thesis approved by the 6th World Congress of the Comintern declared in part:

"Many persons join the Communist parties in colonies or semi-colonial lands, simply because they are foes of Imperialism, but they do not fully understand the fact that the Communist party is not only fighting Imperialism, but also is resisting, as an organ for the proletarians, all sorts of exploitation and oppression. Therefore, their attitude towards a farm revolution is not always steady."

Thus, the view was held that an anti-Imperialistic movement might some time constitute an obstacle to the furtherance of the Communist movement. But in Manchuria, the anti-Manchoukuo and anti-Japanese movement has been pushed, and stimulated by the Communist Party. The anti-Japanese movement under the reign of the ousted militarist regime culminated finally in the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident and the subsequent birth of Manchoukuo, but the anti-Japanese movement by the Chinese Army and remnants of the Manchurian troops was obstinately continued under the

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slogans: "Down With Japanese Imperialism, "Racial Emancipation," "Destroy Manchoukuo" and "Recover the Lost Territory."

The Chinese Communist Party quickly joined in this anti-Japanese and therefore anti-Manchoukuo movement. Thus was established a strong anti-Japanese movement in Manchuria in January, 1933, or two years and a half before the 7th World Congress of the Comintern adopted a clear-cut policy of forming an international popular front. Organization of this united anti-Japanese front in Manchoukuo was in accordance with instructions given by the central headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party in January, 1933, and February, 1934.

Later in July and August, 1935, the 7th World Congress of the Comintern occurred at Moscow, and a resolution carried concerning the presentation of a world-wide popular front against Fascism. Responding to the resolution, the central headquarters of the Chinese Communist Party under date of August 1 of the same year issued what is known as the "August 1 declaration" entitled: "Warning to Our Brethren Regarding National Salvation." Thus was started the united front movement against Japan quite openly and extensively.

In the Chinese Communist Party's instructions given in January, 1933, the general Manchoukuo situation after the Manchurian Incident was reviewed, the activity of the various anti-Japanese guerilla bands comprising lawless elements explained and the aims of the Chinese Communist Party's struggle in Manchoukuo were outlined. It was declared in the instructions:

"At the present stage of the popular movement in Manchuria, we must do everything in our power to formulate an anti-Imperialistic united front by the entire race and to muster and combine all possible forces. Even

if such forces were vacillating or could not be much counted upon, they should be united to open a struggle against Japanese Imperialism and all its tools".

In short, the instructions were to the effect that because the mass movement in Manchoukuo was, from an ideological point of view, in a state of infancy, all the past nominal slogans should be abolished and that under the more accessible slogan of anti-Japanism, the masses harboring ill-feeling towards Japan should be mustered and directed freely by the Communist Party.

An able Communist, Li Yao-kuei, was specially despatched to Manchoukuo by the Comintern with the mission of carrying out the instructions of January, 1933. He was asked to play an important role in a reorientation of the Manchuria Provincial Committee's bolshevization policy. Instructed by the party to develop the united anti-Japanese front, abolish the Soviet district, dissolve the so-called Red Army, organize newly a People's Revolutionary Army and establish a People's Revolutionary Government, he assumed the chairmanship of the Manchuria Provincial Committee, and made frantic efforts to enforce the party's new policy in Manchoukuo.

Soon afterwards, however, Li was arrested. With his arrest the aspirations of the Communists in Manchoukuo suffered a serious setback. In February, 1934, the Manchuria Provincial Committee received fresh instructions from the central headquarters of the Party, in which a critical survey was made of what the Committee had accomplished in the year since the issuance of the previous instructions. In the instructions, stock was taken of the abolition of the Soviet district and the reorganization of the Red Army as the originally projected People's Revolutionary Army as the outstanding results of the committee's operations during the year. Although the progress of the Committee's operations

along the lines indicated in the previous instructions was recognized to some extent, the Party strongly urged the Committee to participate positively in all popular anti-Japanese movements in order to direct most effectively the united front.

Moreover, the instructions criticized the "sectarian" tendency of the Committee as the greatest flaw in its operations. Recapitulating the fundamental aim of the united front, the instructions declared: "The Manchuria Provincial Committee by taking advantage of the united front movement should acquire the leading position of the anti-Japanese mass struggle. The basic significance of the united front lies in the fact that all masses desiring to oppose Japan should be united to offer a concerted resistance against their common enemy and that in continuing that resistance, they should also be induced to resist and isolate all anti-revolutionary elements."

Upon receipt of the instructions, the Manchuria Provincial Committee after incorporating more Red troops into the People's Revolutionary Army and creating a guerilla warfare zone in place of the abolished Soviet district, ordered establishment of the projected People's Revolutionary Government. Thus, the Committee continued desperate efforts to increase the influence of the party. But the wholesale roundups of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party in 1934 dealt a great blow to the activity of the Manchuria Provincial Committee.

As has been explained above, the so-called anti-Japanese united front in Manchoukuo was started in the form of an armed struggle in accordance with the instructions issued by the Chinese Communist Party in January, 1933, and February, 1934, but was later pursued more thoroughly by the Committee in conformity with a resolution adopted by the 7th World Congress of

the Comintern in July, 1935, and the so-called August 1 declaration of the Chinese Communist Party issued the same year.

The 7th World Congress of the Comintern drew the keen attention of the world in that the Comintern suddenly deviated from its former uncompromising policy towards the Second International and adopted a resolution for mustering the Second International, Reformists' groups and all cultural, athletic and other bodies having interests common to the Comintern for the formation of a united front against Fascism.

In this resolution, allusion was made also to the formation of an anti-Imperialistic national front in colonial and semi-colonial lands. The resolution said: "The greatest task of the Communists in colonial and semi-colonial lands is to organize a national front in opposition to Imperialism. For this purpose, they should induce the masses to join in a racial emancipation movement and at the same time should participate positively in an anti-Imperialistic movement by racial Reformists and thereby form a definite anti-Imperialistic front with the co-operation of racial Reformists and racial revolutionaries.

"In China, the national anti-Imperialistic movement should be popularized with an expansion of the Soviet movement and the strengthening of the Red Army. In conducting this movement, a slogan should be adopted to make it known that the movement is an armed struggle against Imperialistic conquerors, especially the Japanese Imperialists and those Chinese acting for the benefit of these Imperialists. It is imperative that the Chinese Soviet regime take the lead in this movement for the emancipation of the entire Chinese race. The proletarians in Imperialistic countries should accord every assistance to the anti-Imperialistic movement in colonial

and semi-colonial lands, for this also serves as an expedient to their own emancipation".

In the August 1 declaration of the Chinese Communist Party, an exaggerated account of what the party alleged to be Japanese invasion was given in order to whip up the self-consciousness of the Chinese nation and thereby to spur the Chinese to open a struggle for their "emancipation." The declaration said in part:

"The main reason for the failure of our present national salvation anti-Japanese movement to score a victory is that we have been attacked from abroad and at home by the Japanese invaders and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek Army. Another reason is a lack of our internal unity and co-operation arising from an estrangement and misunderstanding between the anti-Japanese and anti-Chiang forces. Therefore, we hereby stress and warn the nation that the formation of a united anti-Japanese front is a matter of pressing urgency.

"Even if there still exists a discord of interests and political views among our various party factions or even if our country's troops have been hostile against one another in the past or are still so at the present moment, all our people should alike realize the truth of the saying that even brothers at quarrel must unite in staving off the menace of an outside foe. Bearing this fact in mind, all our people should stop their internal strife forthwith in order that our country may be able to muster all its national powers (manpower, motive power, financial resources and military strength) for our holy task of national salvation and anti-Japanese resistance.

"The Army of the Kuomintang should immediately cease attacking the Soviet district, and all our armies must make preparations for a war with Japan. Rising to action with our brethren, we are prepared valiantly to combat the oppression of the Japanese invaders and the traitorous Chiang forces, establish a single national de-

fence government into which the Chinese Soviet Government and the various regimes in the Northeastern districts will be merged and to organize a single national anti-Japanese volunteer army with the Red Army, the North-eastern People's Revolutionary Army and all anti-Japanese volunteer forces in different districts. The Chinese Soviet Government and the Chinese Communist Party have a common desire to become sponsors of the creation of such a national defence government."

Further declaring that the most important responsibility that may devolve upon the shoulders of the projected national defence government is for anti-Japanese resistance and national salvation, the manifesto emphasized that the administration policy of this planned government would have eleven important aims, including notably (1) anti-Japanese resistance, national salvation and recovery of the lost Chinese territory, (2) relief of sufferers from natural calamities, perfection of riparian and irrigation facilities and stabilization of the livelihood of the nation.

2. Organization of the Northeastern Anti-Japanese Federated Army: The most salient feature of the Communist Party in China and Manchoukuo is found in the fact that the party maintained under its direct control bands of armed men, namely, the so-called guerilla corps. These bands were formed in a manner as dictated by the policy of the party. Around the year 1930 when the Chinese Communist Party was bent upon staging an armed revolution as advocated by Li Li-san, the Manchurian Communist movement was continued for attaining the following three objectives:

a. To create labor strikes of a political nature
b. To organize "partisan" bodies and establish Soviet regimes
c. To provocate disturbances by the masses and organize Red armies

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Laying the main empbasis upon these objectives, the party agents instigated the peasants in the throes of poverty into organizing armed bands which were called "peasants' self-defence corps" or "Red guerilla corps". The members of these bands, like mounted bandits, indulged in an orgy of plundering and ransacking. Under the aegis of these bands, local Soviet districts and regimes were established. Especially in the Panshih region, the 32nd Red Army was organized in 1932 after the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident.

Meanwhile, the Comintern, for the purpose of considering measures to cope with the new situation brought about by the Manchurian Incident, opened an Eastern conference at Moscow in February, 1932. Finding that it was still too early to organize Red armies or establish Soviet districts in Manchuria where the revolutionary consciousness of the masses was yet low, the conference decided to make fresh efforts towards accentuating popular anti-Japanese sentiment in this land and to establish a Northeastern People's Revolutionary Government and a Northeastern People's Revolutionary Army as a means of mustering all anti-Japanese forces.

This decision was formally approved by the 12th Plenary Meeting of the Comintern's executive committee which took place in the autumn of that year. Subsequently, the Chinese Communist Party in January, 1933, and February, 1934, issued orders to its agents in Manchoukuo about the realization of the new policy adopted by the Comintern. In accordance with these orders, the Red Army in Manchuria was re-organized into the projected Northeastern People's Revolutionary Army.

After the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in 1935, the Chinese Communist Party issued the so-called August 1 declaration, announcing its decision to organize a united anti-Japanese front for establishing "a

national defence government'' and a federated anti-Japanese army which might embrace all anti-Japanese elements in Manchoukuo. Subsequently, the Northeastern People's Revolutionary Army was re-organized as the Northeastern Anti-Japanese Federated Army. The projected national defence government, however, was never brought into being. It is claimed that even at present, the Northeastern Anti-Japanese Federated Army consists of three legions (eleven corps). But unworthy of its imposing title and its proud composition, this army in reality is merely a skeleton detachment and hardly better than a horde of undisciplined outlaws swarming in the mountainous region, many of its high officers having already deserted and pledged allegiance to Manchoukuo or having been killed in punitive drives by Japanese and Manchoukuo troops and police.

Notwithstanding that the Comintern claims that the Red forces in Manchoukuo number 150,000 and the people acting in concert with them 100,000 while the Chinese Communist Party persistently insists that there are over 200,000 officers and men in the national salvation corps throughout Manchoukuo and that 60,000 of them are under the direct command of the Chinese Communist Party, all these figures are fantastical and groundless. The fact is that there are hardly more than several thousand bandits remaining in this country.

3. The China Incident and the Manchuria Sommunist Party's Activity: The Chinese Communist Party's new policy of organizing a united anti-Japanese front, as announced in its declaration of August 1, 1935, served to whip up the Chinese nation's anti-Japanese sentiment to a feverpitch. Therefore, the adoption of the policy was one of the chief causes for the outbreak of the present China Incident.

No sooner had the incident flared up than the party announced its decision to take part in the anti-Japan-

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ese war in support of the National Government. The Manchuria Communist Party which in substance is part and parcel of the Chinese Communist Party, on the other hand, mobilized all its organs and the rank and file of the Northeastern Anti-Japanese Federated Army, launching an obstinate anti-Japanese propaganda campaign or staging terrorist outrages to disturb the rear of the Japanese and Manchoukuo armies in Manchoukuo, thereby trying to put a curb upon Japanese military operations in China.

To cite an instance out of many, the Provincial North Manchuria Provincial Committee of the party in September, 1937, soon after the outbreak of the China Incident, ordered its various local organs to destroy railway and river bridges, cut communication cables, fell telegraphic poles or stage other terrorist outrages. In the autumn of that year numerous cases occurred of telegraphic poles being felled and bridges blasted in a certain district in Sankiang Province. At the same time, the command of the Northeastern Anti-Japanese Federated Army also ordered its men to offer positive resistance against Japan by wrecking military transports, attacking Japanese and Manchoukuo troops or other direct measures.

In the instructions also given to the Northeastern Anti-Japanese Federated Army in 1938, it was declared: "The Anti-Japanese Federated Army in order to bring pressure to bear upon the armed conflict in China should disturb the rear of the Japanese and Manchoukuo armies and in the event of an emergency, should be prepared to act in unison with the Red Army of the Soviet Union". From this one can judge what the Comintern or the Chinese and Manchurian Communist Parties are plotting to do in East Asia.

But it is to be noted that there is no instance that either the Manchurian Communist Party or the Federat-

ed Anti-Japanese Army ever dared to stage an activity when the border clashes such as the Changkufeng Incident (1939) and the Nomonhan Incident (1933) occurred. In general, it seems that the Communist influence in Manchoukuo has conspicuously declined in recent years.

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CHAPTER V

MANCHOUKUO AND ANTI-COMMUNIST DEFENCE

I. The Spirit of the National Foundation

Manchuria has a vast territory and abounds in natural resources with varieties of products available. Provided, therefore, the country is righteously ruled, its people can live a life of perfect self-sufficiency and keep their land invulnerable to outside attacks. But the late warlord, Chang Tso-lin, and his son, Chang Hsueh-liang, while they were arbitrarily dominating the country, did nothing but to satisfy selfish ends and indulged in an orgy of squeezing and exploiting the masses.

Industry was not developed, civilization deteriorated and peace and order were not maintained with Bolshevist and other lawless elements left rampant: little attention was paid to the defence of the border regions, allowing Communism to invade the country, and Communists to become active. Under the circumstances, the people of the country were in a state of utter distress.

In a flagrant breach of faith with Japan, the ousted Chang militarist regime was bent only upon resisting Japan, its troops finally having gone so far as to perpetrate the outrage of blasting the tracks of the South Manchuria Railway. The thirty million people of the country then began to harbour an ardent desire for the establishment of a model new government that could uproot all causes for internal chaos and promote the

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well-being of the nation. It is in response to this popular desire that Manchoukuo was born and so it goes without saying that the motive which prompted the creation of the new State is sacred and the spirit underlying the national foundation is sublime.

It can be considered that the spirit underlying the foundation of the new State rests in three great ideals, namely, racial harmony and co-operation, realization of "Wangtao Chui", or the Way of Benevolent Rule; and establishment of a moral world. The ideal of racial harmony and co-operation rejects the prevalence of racial individualism in the land of Manchoukuo wherein the different races of Japanese, Manchus, Chinese, Koreans, Mongols and Russians are living together, and denies racial exclusivism that may recognize the superiority or dominance of of any particular race: it calls for the equal, indiscriminate treatment of all the races residing in the country and the elimination of all causes for racial strife and antagonism so that they by co-operating and assisting one another may devote their efforts to the construction of a model body corporate comprising different races.

Speaking from a racial point of view, all the races living in the country are to act in unison for realizing the great ideal of establishing a moral world, not adhering to their respective traditional ideas, customs and manners, feelings and racial aims. Blood is thicker than water, it is proverbially said, but the identity of ideal transcends the difference of blood and knits all the races in the country tightly together.

"Wangtao Chui" or the Way of Benevolent Rule is a form of government neither embracing the evils of democratic parliamentary politics nor involving the shortcomings of dictatorial rule: it, in obedience to the Way of "Tien" (Heaven), is to assure the people of peace and to proclaim benevolent rule in conformity with

the will of the people in order that an earthly paradise wherein all can live and carry on business in peace may be established. In the declaration of establishment of Manchoukuo, it was announced:

"It shall be the internal policy of our new State. . . . . to apply the principle of Wangtao Chui and practise its teachings. Thus, it is designed to give enlightenment to the people who live within the State and to maintain the honor of perpetuating the peace of Eastern Asia, thus setting a model example of good government to the world."

The third ideal, that is, the establishment of a moral world, calls upon all the people of the country to live a life, official or private, of justice and elegance by suppressing their selfish considerations, observing etiquette and upholding moral virtues, to enhance the moral character of the Orientals and thereby to transpose Manchuria into a moral State which will be without peer in the world.

It is but natural that Communism which, founded upon Materialism, and aims at provoking human struggle, should be utterly incompatible with Manchoukuo, born with such a national spirit. With her territory bordering on the Soviet land over a distance of more than 4,000 kilometres, Manchoukuo is in a position resolutely to fight back the aggression of Bolshevism. In the declaration of her establishment, Manchoukuo announced a severance of relations with China and gave the reasons for the establishment of a new State, after taking stock of the fact that China was overrun by Communist elements and warning that if these Communists were left to have their own way, China would not only be Bolshevized, but would also be doomed to ruin. Really comprehensive and thoroughgoing are all the measures which Manchoukuo since her advent in 1932 have taken to stave off the menace of Communism. As the most re-

markable things that have been done by Manchoukuo thus far to combat Communism, the activity of the Manchoutikuo Hsieh-ho-hui (Concordia Association), the subjugation of Communist bandits and the participation of the country in the International Anti-Comintern Pact may be mentioned.

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2. Activity of the Manchoutikuo Hsieh-Ho-Hui

The Manchoutikuo Hsieh-ho-hui is an organ of the State created simultaneously with the birth of Manchoukuo. It is the one and only organized body of practice in the fields of thought, social enlightenment and politics, which aims at realizing the spirit of national foundation and training the nation in putting into effect the ideals for which the State was established: it is an organ neither subordinate to, nor competitory with, the Government, but is the spiritual womb of the Government. In other words, the Government is a structure founded upon the Hsieh-ho spirit which is identical with the spirit of national foundation.

Naturally, all government officials ought to be as they are most ardent devotees of the Hsieh-ho spirit. Only when really devoted members of the Hsieh-ho-hui in and outside the government service take the lead in politics and economics, guide popular thought in the right direction and strive, in the spirit of national foundation, to perfect national general mobilization can it be possible to hope for the realization of "Wangtao Chui". With the Prime Minister as its president, this organization co-operating with the Government as forming a single entity has as its objectives the attainment of the ideals for which the State was founded and the establishment of a moral world.

Members of the organization who are to work for the accomplishment of these objectives are required to be

men aged over 20, sound in body and mind (irrespective of nationality). The total number of its members as at the end of March, 1939, was returned at 1,205,000. It has its central headquarters in Hsinking and local headquarters in provinces or in hsien, with its branches made functional units . The principles governing the activity of the organization are enumerated below :

1. To make the entire nation fully understand and believe in the true meaning of Oriental moral virtues and the inseparable relationship between Japan and Manchoukuo, drive home the national foundation spirit to the heart of the nation and to unify the trend of popular thought.

2. To eliminate strife and friction among the various races by fostering nuclear groups of men to lead the nation and thereby to enable these races to bear their respective shares of social activity so that public welfare may be promoted and national harmony achieved.

3. To develop all lines of business and industry and bolster the stability of the nation's livelihood by fusing the national foundation spirit and ideals with the actual economic and social life of the people.

4. To perceive correctly the will of the nation, convey it to the Government and to transmit the will of the Government to the nation in order that the people may really appreciate the national administration.

5. To mobilize, train and organize the nation with a view to establishing a truly national body comprising all officials and citizens, high and low.

6. To extend the spirit of national foundation to every nook and corner of East Asia and awake the Oriental races to the necessity of their resurrection.

It is a axiomatic that Communism is incompatible with the Hsieh-ho-hui, aspiring to achieve such ideals and objectives. In the manifesto announcing the inauguration of the Hsieh-ho-hui, the need to suppress

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Communism was strongly urged. And it is a highly encouraging fact that such a powerful organization of national character as the Hsieh-ho-hui is thus carrying on a spirited combat against Communism. According to publications issued by the Hsieh-ho-hui, its anti-Communist theory can be interpreted :

"Communism, founded on the theory that history can be developed by class struggle, is utterly incompatible with the Hsieh-ho spirit. Having its origin in Materialism, Communism tramples underfoot morals, religion and art. Charging that religion is opium, Communism destroys temples and shrines, disregards the sanctity of morals, ridicules good manners and customs and pays no heed to a degeneration of social discipline and order. Whereas insisting, on the one hand, upon equality, it deprives human beings of their liberty and tries to turn human society into a prison.

"On the contrary, the Hsieh-ho spirit recognizes the creative powers and spiritual value of mankind, respects personal character and regards religion and morals as the highest spiritual creations of mankind as the master of all creatures in the universe. Accordingly, those who believe in the Hsieh-ho spirit have resolutely to combat Communism.

"Communism after taking possession of Russia has extended its hand of destruction to Spain and China and now is watching for a chance to invade the border regions of our Manchoukuo. The Hsieh-ho-hui not only adopt such open measures as anti-Communist demonstrations and an anti-Communist movement, but must also make positive efforts to frustrate the sinister underground designs of the Communist Party and to win over to its camp Communist Party members and those persons close to the said party. The anti-Communist campaign is for the sake of not only Manchoukuo but for all mankind. It behooves Manchoukuo, therefore, to co-operate

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with Japan, Germany, Italy, Spain and Hungary opposing Communism."

In December, 1936, the Hsieh-ho-hui issued an anti-Comintern declaration of the following purport:

"The world is now in the maelstrom of chaos. This chaos has its origin in the harms and wrongs being wrought by the Comintern which is bent upon destroying the world and plunging it into the depths of darkness. To manifest the true spirit of the Orient by following the right path of humanity and cast its nimbus all over the world is in conformity with the spirit underlying the foundation of Manchoukuo.

"The cunning Comintern, the common enemy of mankind, is devilishly active in its plot to turn the world into shambles of Materialism and Individualism. Like a drowning man attempting to grasp a single straw, the various Oriental races which after moaning long under the shackles of Imperialistic oppression by the white race, in a plight of utter distress and destitution, are now about to fall easy preys to the Comintern, being beguiled by its obsequious words, forgetting the horrible catastrophe which may befall them tomorrow.

"The Comintern is a mortal foe of the world, in the light of international justice and considering particularly the fact that it now is attempting to poison the Oriental races. To save anybody depends upon his or her own strength, and it is the Oriental races that should save their Orient from the ravages of the Comintern. The rivers, mountains, civilization and racial life of our Orient now stand at the crossroads between progress and destruction. Our holy war for redressing wrongs and upholding the cause of justice has just begun.

"All subjects of our Manchoukuo! You who are taking the lead in the reconstruction of East Asia, thus

devoting yourselves to the ultimate accomplishment of a world renovation, must oust from your country every word and phrase of Communism and the last member of the Communist Party.

"All Oriental races and nationals of the Republic of China! You all must realize that if you in pursuit of immediate profits took sides with the Comintern, your countries would be made desolate and your brethren subjected to great hardships and suffering.

"The masses in Japan, Manchoukuo and China! Rise resolutely and join in a holy crusade against the Comintern, the common enemy of mankind.

"With an anti-Comintern pact already concluded between our ally, Japan, and Germany, it is high time to launch a vigorous fight against the Comintern. Upholding the cause of Asiatic reconstruction, our Manchoutikuo Hsieh-ho-hui hereby announces its firm determination to completely eradicate the Comintern's disturbance of the peace of the Orient." (7th December, the 3rd year of Kangte)

In 1936, the Hsieh-ho-hui collected anti-Communist slogans from all parts of the country, of which several typical ones are cited below:

1. Communism has repudiated religion. All Gods have fled abroad, leaving behind only the God of Poverty.
2. Masked and juggling, Communism is a squeezer who derides squeezing.
3. Bolshevized, human society becomes a prison.
4. Mechanization of human beings is Communism.
5. Communism sets up a paradise on paper and a hell on earth.
6. Communism promises to give roses, but in reality, it gives thorns.
7. For material things, Communism wrecks everything spiritual, but it never gives material

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things: hunger and beggary are the accompaniments of Communism.

8. Japan and Manchoukuo are forts for checking the eastward expansion of the hordes of Communism and may be called light-houses of peace.
9. Communism is more dangerous than an epidemic, for it destroys not only the flesh of a man, but his mind.
10. What things has Communism given to the farmers of Russia?
    Land? But bread is monopolized by commissars.
    Water? But fish is monopolized by commissars.
    Forests? But fire-wood is monopolized by commissars.
    Freedom? But this exists only on paper.

By holding every year a national anti-Communist mass meeting, staging anti-Communist demonstrations and collecting or distributing anti-Communist information, the Hsieh-ho-hui is carrying on its positive drive against Communism with great vigor. The importance of the Hsieh-ho-hui in the anti-Communist movement, however, lies in the fact that by making its sublime spirit prevail thoroughly over the land, it is putting forth endeavors to purify and arm the spirit of the entire Manchoukuo nation so as to leave no room for the infiltration of Communist ideas into the country.

3. Subjugation of Lawless Elements

At the outset of the Manchurian Incident which broke out in September, 1931, shocking the whole world, a majority of Chinese troops under the command of the ousted warlord, Chang Hsueh-liang, after sustaining a crushing blow from the Japanese Army, stampeded in confusion into the Chinchow region where they were

completely hemmed in, with their further retreat cut. These remnant troops hiding in different parts of the region soon became soldier-bandits.

Taking advantage of the turbulent situation precipitated by the outbreak of the Incident, on the other hand, those hordes of Communist bandits manipulated by the Manchurian Communist Party rose in rebellion at different points in secret collusion with the Soviet Union. Added together, these outlaws were estimated in 1932 to number 360,000. In consequence of the punitive campaigns undertaken jointly by Japanese and Manchoukuo troops and police, however, the number of such malcotents dwindled sharply to about 65,000 in August, 1933 and further to 10,000 in March, 1937. In January, 1940, only several thousand were estimated to remain. Although tremendous difficulties have had to be met in subjugating such outlaws infesting mountainous areas or in pacifying them to pledge allegiance to the Manchoukuo regime, it is a really astounding fact that the efforts exerted to eradicate these lawless elements have brought about such remarkable results.

4. Participation of Manchoukuo in the Anti-Comintern Pact

The Communist International with its central headquarters in Moscow maintains scores of branches in the various countries of the world. With ample funds in hand and with a systematized organization, it is conducting its activity in a uniform and subtle manner, meeting developments occurring in the actual situation, in pursuance of its ultimate aim—the Bolshevization of the whole world. Thus, it is plotting to jeopardize the existence of this civilized world by acting on both hemispheres, disturb peace and to break down order.

International co-operation is absolutely necessary

to counteract the worldwide activity of this organization. It is absolutely imperative that all the Powers having a common desire to preserve the peace and order of the world, keeping in close contact and co-operating with one another, should present a solid united front against the Comintern. And it is with this aim in view that an anti-Comintern pact was signed between Japan and Germany in November, 1936, and that Italy became a third signatory to the said pact in November, 1937.

As has already been pointed out, the spirit underlying the foundation of Manchoukuo is essentially incompatible with Communism and accordingly, ever since her establishment she has taken various measures to combat the menace of Communism. Her participation in the international anti-Comintern pact having become a matter of course, Manchoukuo in February, 1939, signed a protocol in this connection with the German and Italian delegates at Hsinking. On the very day this protocol was signed, Hungary also became a party to the pact, followed in March by Nationalist Spain, led by General Francisco Franco. Thus, the anti-Comintern camp now embraces the six Powers of Japan, Germany, Italy, Manchoukuo, Hungary and Spain, boasting of its formidable strength.

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